# HIS MAJESTIES ANSWER TO A PRINTED BOOK,

ENTITULED,

## A Remonstrance, or the Declaration of the LORDS and COMMONS now assembled in PARLIAMENT, May 26. 1642.

## In Answer to a Declaration under His Majesties Name, concerning the Businesse of HULL.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

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## *A Remonstrance, or The Declaration of the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament,* the 26th. of May, 1642.

*In answer to a Declaration under his Majesties Name, concerning the busines of* Hull.

THough, whosoever looks over the late Remonstrance, intituled, *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, of the 26. of May,* will not think Wee have much reason to be pleased with it; yet Wee cannot but commend the plaine dealing and ingenuity of the Framers and Contrivers of that Declaration (which hath been wrought in a hotter and quicker forge then any of the rest) who would no longer suffer Us to be affronted, by being told, *They would make Us a great and glorious King,* whilest they used all possible skill to reduce Us to extream want and indigency; and that, *They would make Us to be loved at home, and feared abroad,* whilest they endeavoured by all possible wayes to render Us odious to Our good Subjects, and contemptible to all forreigne Princes; but, like round-dealing men, tell Us in plain English, That they have done Us no wrong, because We are not capable of receiving any; and, That they have taken nothing from Us, because We had never any thing of Our owne to lose: If this doctrine be true, and that indeed We ought to be of no other consideration then they have informed Our people in that Declaration, that Gentlman is much more excusable, that said publickly (unreproved) *That the happinesse of this Kingdome doth not depend on Us, or upon any of the royall Branches of that Root;* and the other, who said, *Wee were not worthy to be King of England:* Language very monstrous to be allowed by either House of Parliament, and of which, by the help of God and the Law, Wee must have some examination. But Wee doubt not, all Our good subjects doe now plainly discerne through the maske and vizzard of their hypocrisie, what their designe is, and will no more look upon the Framers and Contrivers of that Declaration, as upon both Houses of Parliament, (whose freedome and just Priviledges We will alwaies maintain, and in whose behalfe We are as much slandered as for Our Selfe) but as a faction of malignant, schismaticall, and ambitious persons, whose designe is, & alwaies hath been, to alter the whole frame of Government both of Church and State, and to subject both King and People to their owne lawlesse, arbitrary power and Government; of whose persons, and of whose designe, We shall, within a very short time, give Our good Subjects, and the world a full, and (We hope) a satisfactory Narration.

The Contrivers and Penners of that Declaration (of whom We would be only understood to speak when We mention any of their undutifull Acts against Us) tell you, *That the great Affaires of this Kingdome, and the miserable and bleeding condition of the Kingdome of Ireland, will afford them little leisure to spend their time in Decla-*

*Declarations, Answers, and Replies*; Indeed, the miserable and deplorable condition of both Kingdomes, would require somwhat else at their hands: But We would gladly know, how they have spent their time since their Recesse (now almost eight moneths) but in Declarations, Remonstrances, and Invectives against Us and Our Government, or in preparing matter for them: Have We invited them to any such expence of time, by beginning arguments of that nature? Their Leisure, or their Inclination is not as they pretend: And what is their Printing and Publishing their Petitions to Us, their Declarations and Remonstrances of Us, their odious Vote sand Resolutions, somtimes of one, sometimes of both Houses, against Us (never in this manner communicated before this Parliament) but an Appeale to the People? And, in Gods Name, let them judge of the Persons they have trusted.

Their first Quarrell is (as it is alwayes, to let them into their frank Expressions of Us and Our Actions) against the *Malignant Party*, whom they are pleased still to call, and never to prove, to be our evill Counsellors; but indeed, nothing is more evident by their whole Proceedings, then that by the *Malignant Party*, they intend all the Members of both Houses, who agree not with them in their Opinion (hence have come their distinction of good and bad Lords, of Persons ill-affected of the House of Commons, who have been proscribed, and their Names listed and read in Tumults) and all the Persons of the Kingdome, who approve not of their Actions; So that if, in truth, they would be ingenuous, and name the Persons they intend, who would be the Men (upon whom that Imputation of Malignity would be cast) but they, who have stood stoutly, and immutably for the Religion, the Liberties, the Lawes, for all Publike Interests (so long as there was any to be stood for), they, who have alwayes beene, and are as zealous Professors, and (some of them) as able and earnest Defendors of the Protestant Doctrine against the Church of *Rome*, as any are; who have often and earnestly besought Us to consent, that no indifferent and unnecessary Ceremony might be pressed upon weake and tender Consciences, and that we would agree to a Bill for that purpose; they, to whose Wisdome, Courage, and Counsell, the Kingdome oweth as much, as it can to Subjects; and upon whose unblemished Lives, Envy it selfe can lay no Imputation, nor endevoured to lay any, untill their Vertues brought them to Our Knowledge and Favour. Let the Contrivers of this Declaration be faithfull to themselves, and consider all those Persons of both Houses, whom they, in their owne Consciences, know to dissent from them in the Matter and Language of that Declaration, and in all those undutifull Actions, of which We complaine: And will they not be found in Honour, Fortune, Wisdome, Reputation, and Weight (if not in number) much superiour to them? So much for the Evill Counsellors: Now, what is the Evill Counsell it selfe? Our comming from *London* (where We, and many, whose Affections to Us are very eminent, were in danger every day to be torne in pieces) to *Yorke*, where We, and all such who will put themselves under Our protection, may live (We thank God, and the loyalty and affection of this good people) very securely; Our not submitting Our Selfe absolutely (and

renouncing Our own Understanding) to the Votes and Resolutions of the Contrivers of that Declaration, when they tell Us, They are above Us, and may (by Our owne Authority) doe with Us what they please; and Our not being contented, that all Our good Subjects Lives and Fortunes shall be disposed of by their Votes, but by the known Law of the Land: This is the Evill Counsell given and taken: and will not all men beleeve there needs much power and skill (of the *Malignant Party*) to infuse this Counsell into Us? And now apply the Argument, the Contrivers of that Declaration make for themselves: Is it probable, or possible, that such Men whom We have mentioned (who must have so great a share in the misery) should take such paines in the procuring thereof, and spend so much time, and run so many hazards, to make themselves Slaves, and to ruine the Freedome of this Nation? We say, with a cleare and upright Conscience to God Almighty, Whosoever harbours the least thought in his breft of ruining or violating the publike Liberty or Religion of this Kingdome, or the just Freedome and Priviledge of Parliament, let him be accursed; and he shall be no Counsellour of Ours that will not say, Amen. For the Contrivers of that Declaration, We have not said any thing which might imply any inclination in them to be Slaves: That which We have charged them with, is invading the publike Liberty; and Our Presumption may be very strong and vehement, that (though they have no mind to be Slaves) they are not unwilling to be Tyrants: (What is Tyranny, but to admit no Rule to governe by, but their own Wils?) And We know the misery of *Athens* was at the highest, when it suffered under the thirty Tyrants.

If that Declaration had told Us (as indeed it might, and as in Justice it ought to have done) that the Presidents of any of Our Ancestors did fall short and much below what hath been done by Us this Parliament, in point of Grace and Favour to Our People, We should no otherwise have wondred at it, then at such a truth, in such a place: But when (to justifie their having done more then ever their Predecessors did) it tels Our good Subjects (as most injuriously, most insolently it doth) *That the highest and most unwarrantable Presidents of any of Our Predecessors doe fall short, and much below what hath been done to them this Parliament by Us*, We must confesse Our Selfe amazed, and not able to understand them. And We must tell those ungratefull Men (who dare tell their King, That they may, without want of Modesty and Duty, depose him) that the condition of Our Subjects, when (by what soever Accidents and Conjunctures of time) it was at worst, under Our power, unto which (by no default of Ours) they shall be ever againe reduced, was, by many degrees, more pleasant and happy, then that to which their furious pretence of reformation hath brought them. Neither are We afraid of the highest presidents of other Parliaments, which these men boldly (Our good Subjects will call it worse) tell Us, They might without want of Modesty and Duty, make their Patterns. If We had no other security against those Presidents, but their Modesty and Duty, We were in a miserable condition, as all Persons will be who depend upon them.

That Declaration will not allow Our Inference, That by avowing the Act of Sir *John Hotham*, they do destroy the Title and Interest of all our Subjects to

their Lands and Goods; but confesseth, if they were found guilty of that Charge, it were indeed a very great Crime. And doe they not, in this Declaration, admit themselves guilty of this very Crime? Doe they not say, *Who doubts but that a Parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein We or Our Subjects have a Right, in such a way, as that the Kingdome may not be in danger thereby?* Do they not then call themselves This Parliament, and challenge this Power without Our Consent? Doe they not extend this Power to all Cases, where the necessity, or the common good of the Kingdome is concerned? And doe they not arrogate unto themselves alone the judgement of this Danger, this Necessity, this common good of the Kingdome? What is, if this be not, to unsettle the security of all Mens Estates, and to expose them to an Arbitrary Power of their owne? If a Faction shall at any time, by Cunning, or Force, or Absence, or Accident, prevaile over a Major part of both Houses, & pretend that they are *Evill Counsellours*, a *Maligant Party* about the King, by whom the Liberty and Religion of the Kingdome are both in danger: This they may doe, they have done it. Then they may take away (be it from the King or People) what soever they, in their judgement, shall thinke fit: This is lawfull, they have declared it so. Let the world judge, whether We charge them unjustly, and whether they are not guilty of the Crime, which themselves confesse (being proved) is a great one, and how safely we might commit the Power, these people desire, into their hands, who, in all probability, would be no sooner possessed of it, then they would revive that Tragedy, which Master *Hooker* relates of the *Anabaptists in Germany*, who talking of nothing but Faith, and of the true feare of God, and that Riches and Honour were vanity, at first, upon the great Opinion of their Humility, Zeale, and Devotion, procured much Reverence and Estimation with the people: After, finding how many persons they had ensnared with their Hypocrisie, they beganne to propose to themselves, to reforme both the Ecclesiasticall and Civill Government of the State; Then because, possibly, they might meet with some opposition, they secretly entered into a League of Association, and shortly after (finding the powers they had gotten with the credulous people) enriched themselves with all kinde of spoyle and pillage, and justified it upon our Saviours promise, *The meeke shall inherit the earth*; and declared their Title was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians: This Story is worth the reading at large, and needs no Application.

But we must by no meanes say, That We have the same Title to Our Towne of *Hull*, and the Ammunition there, as any of Our Subiects have to their Lands or Money; That's *A Principle that puts up the Foundation of the Liberty & Property of every Subject*: Why pray? *Because the Kings property in His Townes, and in His Goods, bought with the publike Money* (as they conceive Our Magazine at *Hull* was) *is inconsistent with the Subjects Property in their Lands, Goods, and Liberties.* Do these men thinke, That as they assume a power of declaring Law (and what soever contradicts that Declaration breaks their Privileges) so they have a power of declaring Sense & Reason, & imposing Logick and Syllogismes on the Schooles, as well as Law upon the People? Doth not all mankind know, That severall men may have severall Rights and Interests in the selfe same House & Land and

yet neither destroy the other? Is not the Interest of the Lord *Paramount* consistent with that of the *Mesme* Lord, and his with that of the Tenant, and yet their Properties and Interests not at all confounded? And why may not We then have a full lawful Interest and Property in our Towne of *Hull*, and yet Our Subjects have a Property in their Houses too? But We *cannot sell or give away at Our pleasure Our Townes and Forts, as a private man may doe his Lands or Goods*: What then? Many men have no authority to Let or set their Leases, or sell their Land; have they therefore no Title to them, or Interest in them? May they be taken from them, because they cannot sell them? The purpose of Our Journey to *Hull*, was neither to sell it, nor give it away.

But for the Magazine, the Munition there, that We bought with Our owne Money, we might surely have sold that, lent, or given it away. No, *We bought it with the publike Money*; and the proofe is, *They conceive it so*; and upon this conceit have Voted, That it shall be taken from Us: Excellent Justice! Suppose We had kept this Money by Us, and not bought Arms with it, would they have taken it from Us upon that conceit? Nay, may they not whereseoever this Money is (for thorough how many hands soever it hath passed, it is the publike Money still, if it ever were) seize it, and take it from the Owners? But the Towns, Forts, Magazine, and Kingdome is intrusted to Us, and We are a Person trusted; We are so, God and the Law hath trusted Us, & we have taken an Oath to discharge that trust for the good and safety of Our people: What Oaths they have taken, We know not, unlesse those which, in this violence, they have manifestly, maliciously violated. May any thing be taken from a man because he is trusted with it? Nay, may the person himselfe take away the thing he trusts when he will, and in what manner he will? The Law hath been otherwise, and We beleeve will be so held, notwithstanding their Declarations.

But, *This trust ought to be managed by their advice, and the Kingdome hath trusted them for that purpose.* Impossible! That the same trust should be irrevocably committed to Us and Our Heirs for ever, and the same trust, and a power above that trust (for such is the power they pretend) be committed to others: Did not the people that sent them, looke upon them as a Body but Temporary, and dissoluble at Our pleasure: And can it be beleeved, that they intended them for Our Guardians and Controllers in the managing of that Trust which God and the Law hath granted to Us and Our Posterity for ever? What the extent of their Commission and Trust is, nothing can better teach them, then the Writ whereby they are met. We called them (and without that call they could not have come together) to be Our Counsellors, not Commanders; (for however they frequently confound them, the Offices are severall) and Counsellors, not in all things, but in some things, *De quibusdam arduis, &c.* And they will easily find amongst their Presidents, that Q. *Elizabeth*, (upon whose Time all Good Men looke with Reverence) committed one *Wentworth*, a Member of the House of Commons to the Tower (the House sitting) but for proposing, that they might advise the Queen in a matter she thought they had nothing to do to meddle in: But *We are trusted*: and are We the onely Person trusted? And may they do what their own inclination and fury leads them to? Were not they trusted by Us, when we first sent

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for them; and were they not trusted by Us, when We passed them our promise, That We would not dissolve them? Can it be presumed (and presumptions go far with them) that We trusted them with a Power to destroy Us, and to dissolve Our Government and Authority? If the people might be allowed to make an equitable construction of the Lawes and Statutes (a Doctrine avowed by them) would not all Our good Subjects sweare, We never intended by that Act of continuance, that they should do what they have since done? Were they not trusted by those that have sent them? And were they trusted to alter the Government of Church and State, and to make themselves perpetual Dictators over the King and People? Did they intend that the Law it self should be subject to their Votes, and that what soever they say or do should be lawfull, because they declare it so? The Oathes which they have taken, who sent them, and without taking which, themselves are not capable of their place in Parliament, makes the one uncapable of giving, and the other of receiving such a trust, unlesse they can perswade Our good Subjects, That We are the only supreme Head and Governour in all causes, and over all persons, within Our Dominions; and yet that they have a power over Us, to constraine Us to manage Our Trust, and govern Our Power, according to their discretion.

The Contrivers of that Declaration tell Us, that they will never allow Us (an humble and dutifull Expression) to be Judge of the Law; that belongs onely to them; they may and must judge and declare. We all know what Power the Pope, under the pretence of Interpreting Scriptures, and declaring Articles of Faith (though he decline the making the one or the other) hath usurped over mens consciences; and that under colour of having Power of Ordering all things for the good of mens Soules, he entitles himselfe to all the Kingdomes of the world. Wee will not accuse the framers of this Declaration (how bold soever they are with Us) that they incline to Popery; of which another Maxime is, That Wee must submit Our Reason and Understanding (and the Scripture it Selfe) to that Declaring power of his. Neither will We tell them (though they have told Us so) that they use the very language of the Rebels of *Ireland*: and yet they say those Rebels declare, that what soever they do, is for the good of the King and Kingdome: But Our good Subjects will easily put the case to themselves, Whether, if the Papists in *Ireland* in truth were, or by Art or Accident had made themselves the Major part of both Houses of Parliament there, and had pretended the Trust (in that Declaration) from the Kingdome of *Ireland*, thereupon had Voted their Religion and Liberty to be in danger of extirpation from a Malignant Party of Protestants, and Puritans; and therefore that they should put themselves into a Posture of defence. That the Forts and *Militia* of that Kingdome were to be put into the hands of such persons as they could confide in; That We were indeed trusted with the Townes, Forts, Magazines, Treasures, Offices, and People of the Kingd. for the good and safety, & best advantage thereof: But as this trust is for the use of the Kingdome, so it ought to be managed by the advise of both Houses of Parliament, whom the Kingdome has trusted for that purpose; it being their duty to see it discharged, according to the Condition and true Intent thereof, and by all possible meanes to prevent the contrary: We say, Let all Our good Subjects consider, If that Rebellion had been plotted with this Formality, and

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such circumstances declared to be legall (at least according to the equitable sense of the Law) and to be for the publike good, and justifiable by necessity (of which they were the only Judges) Whether, though they might have thought their Designe the more cunning, they would beleeve it the more justifiable? Nay, let the framers of this Declaration aske themselves, if the *Evill Counsellours*, the *Malignant Party*, the *Persons Ill-affected*, the *Popish Lords* and their adherents, should prove now, or hereafter, to be a Major part of both Houses (for it hath beene declared, a great part of both Houses have been such, and so might have been the greater; nay, that the greater part of the House of Peeres was such (and We have not heard of any of their conversions) and thereupon it hath been earnestly pressed, That the Minor part of the Lords might joyne with the Major part of the House of Commons) were We bound to consent to all such alterations as these men should propose to Us, and resolve to be for the publike good; and must the Liberty, Property and Security of all Our Subjects depend on what such Votes should declare to be Law? Was the Order of the *Militia* unfit and unlawfull, whiles the Major part of the Lords refused to joyne in it (as they did two, if not three severall times, (and it was never heard before this Parliament, that they should be so, and so often pressed after a dissent declared) and did it grow immediately necessary for the publike safety, and lawfull by the Law of the Land, as soon as so many of the dissenting Peeres were driven away (after their names had been required at the Barre, contrary to the Freedome and Foundation of Parliaments) that the other Opinion prevailed? Doth the Life and Liberty of the Subject depend upon such accidents of dayes and houres, that it is impossible for him to know his Right in either? God forbid.

But now, to justifie their Invasion of Our ancient, unquestioned, undoubted Right, settled and established on Us and our Posterity by God himselfe, confirmed and strengthened by all possible titles of Compact, Lawes, Oathes, perpetuall and uncontradicted customes by Our People: What have they alledged, to *Declare to the Kingdome* (as they say) *the Obligation that lyeth upon the Kings of this Realme to passe all such Bills as are offered unto them by both Houses of Parliament?* (a thing never heard of till this day) An Oath (Authority enough for them to break all their) that is, or ought to be taken by the Kings of this Realme, which is as well to remedy by Law such inconveniences the Kingdome may suffer, as to keep and protect the Lawes already in being. And the form of this Oath (they say) appeares upon a Record there cited, and by a Clause in the Preamble of a Statute made in the five and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third.

Wee are not enough acquainted with Records, to know whether that be fully and ingenuously cited, and when, and how, and why the severall Clauses have been inserted, or taken out of the Oathes formerly administred to the Kings of this Realme; yet We cannot possibly imagine, the Assertion that Declaration makes, can be deduced from the Words, or the Matter of that Oath: For, unlesse they have a power of declaring Latine, as well as Law, sure *Elegerit* signifieth, *hath chosen*, as well as, *will chuse*, and that it signifieth so here (besides the Authority of the perpetuall practice of all succeeding Ages (a better Interpreter then their Votes) is evident by the Reference it hath to Customes; *Consuetudines*

*suetudines quas vulgus elegerit*, and could that be a Custome, which the People should chuse after this Oath taken, and should a King be sworn to defend such customes? Besides, can it be imagined that he should be bound by Oath to passe such Lawes (and such a Law is the Bill they brought to Vs of the *Militia*) as should put the power, wherewith he is trusted, out of himselfe in the hands of other men, and so devest and disable him of all possible power to perform the great businesse of the Oath, which is, To protect them? If We give away all Our Power, or if it be taken from Vs, We cannot protect any Man: And what discharge would it be for us, either before God or Man, (when Our good Subjects, whom God and the Law hath committed to our charge, shall be worried and spoiled) to say, That we trusted others to protect them; that is, to do that duty for us, which is essentially and inseparably our owne. But that all our good subjects may see how faithfully these men (who assume this trust from them) desire to discharge their trust, we shall be contented to publish for their satisfaction (a matter notoricus enough, but which We our selfe never thought to have been put to publish, and of which the Framers of that Declaration might as well have made use, as of a Latine Record they knew many of our good Subjects could not, and many of themselves do not understand) the Oath it self We took at our Coronation, warranted and enjoyned to it by the custome and Directions of our Predecessors; and the Ceremony of their and our taking it, they may finde it in the Records of the Exchequer. This it is:

The Sermon being done, the Archbishop goeth to the King, and asks his willingnesse to take the Oath usually taken by his Predecessors.

The King sheweth himself willing, ariseth, and goeth to the Altar; The Archbishop administreth these Questions, and the King answers them severally.

*Episcopus.*

Sir, *will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of* England, *the Laws and Customes to them granted by the Kings of* England *your lawfull and religious Predecessors; and namely the Laws, Customes, and Franchises granted to the Clergie by the glorious King S.* Edward *your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Customes of this Realm?*

*Rex.*

I grant and promise to keep them.

*Episcopus.*

Sir, *Will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?*

*Rex.* I will keep it.

*Episcopus.*

Sir, *will you (to your power) cause Law, Justice, and Discretion in Mercy*

*Mercy and Truth to be executed in all your Iudgments.*

*Rex.* I will.

*Episcopus.*

*Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightfull Customs which the Commonalty of this your Kingdome have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?*

*Rex.*

I grant and promise so to doe.

Then one of the Bishops reads this Admonition to the King before the people, with a loud voice.

*Our Lord and King, we beseech you to Pardon, and to Grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonicall Priviledges, and due Law and Iustice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King, in his Kingdom, ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government.*

*The King answereth.*

With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my Pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonicall Priviledges, and due Law and Justice, and that I will be your Protector and Defender, to my Power, by the assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in Right ought to protect and defend the Bishops, and Churches under their government.

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he makes a solemn Oath, in sight of all the People, to observe the premises: And laying his hand upon the Book, saith:

*The Oath.*

The things which I have before promised, I shall performe and keep, So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Let now all the World judge, whether such Doctrine, or such Conclusions as these men teach, can follow, or have the least pretence from this Oath.

For the Preamble of the Statute (they cite) that tells us, *That the King is bound to remedy by Law the Mischiefs and Damages which happen to His People:* He is so. But is the King bound, by the Preamble of that Statute, to renounce his own Judgment, his own understanding, in these mischiefs, and of those Remedies? How far forth he is obliged to follow the Judgment of his Parliament, that Declaration still confesseth to be a question: Without question, none can take upon them to remedy even mischiefs but by Law, for feare of greater mischiefs

chiefs then those they go about to remedy. *But we are bound in Iuſtice to conſent to their propoſals; becauſe there is a truſt repoſed in us to preſerve the Kingdome, by making new Lawes:* We are glad there is ſo; then we are ſure no new Laws can be made without our conſent, and that the gentleneſſe of our Anſwer, *Le Roy s'aviſera*, if it be no denial, is no conſent, and then the matter is not great. They will allow us yet *A greater latitude of granting or denying, as we ſhall think fit, in publike Acts of Grace, as Pardons, or the like grants of favour:* why do they ſo? If thoſe pardons & publike acts of grace be for the publike good (which they may vote they are) they will then be abſolutely in their own diſpoſall: But have they left us this power? They have ſure at leaſt ſhared it with us: how elſe have they got the power to pardon Serjeant-major-generall *Skippon* (a new officer of State, and a Subject, we have no authority to ſend to ſpeak with) and all other perſons employed by them, and ſuch as have employed themſelves for them, not only for what they have done, but for what they ſhall do? If they have power to declare ſuch actions to be no treaſon, which we would not pardon, and ſuch actions to be treaſon which needs no pardon, the latitude they allow us, of granting or denying pardons, is a jewell they may ſtill be contented to ſuffer us to wear in our Crown, and never think themſelves the more in danger.

All this conſidered, the contriver of that meſſage (ſince they will afford him no better title) whom they are angry with, doth not conceive the people of this land to be ſo void of common ſenſe, as to beleeve us (who have denied no one thing for the eaſe and benefit of them, which in juſtice or prudence could be aſked, or in honour and conſcience could be granted) to have caſt off all care of our ſubjects good; and the Framers and Deviſers of that Declaration (who have endevoured to render us odious to our ſubjects, and them diſloyall unto us, by pretending ſuch a truſt from them) to have only taken it up: Neither (we are confident) will they be ſatisfied, when they feel the miſery and the burthens which the fury and malice of thoſe people will bring upon them, with being told that calamity proceeds from evill Counſellors, whom no body can name; from plots and conſpiracies, which no man can diſcover; and from fears and jealouſies, which no man underſtands: And therefore that the conſideration of it be left to the conſcience, reaſon, affection, and loyalty of our good ſubjects, who do underſtand the government of this Kingdome, we are well content.

Where will the folly and madneſſe of theſe people end? who would have Our people beleeve, that Our abſenting Our ſelfe from *London* (where, with Our ſafety, We could not ſtay) and the continuing Our Magazine at *Hull*, proceeds from the ſecret plots of the Papiſts here, and to advance the deſignes of the Papiſts in *Ireland*: But it is no wonder, that they who can beleeve Sir *John Hotham* ſhutting Vs out of *Hull*, to be an Act of Affection, and Loyalty, will beleeve that the Papiſts, or the Turkes, perſwaded Vs to goe thither.

And can any ſober man think that Declaration to be the conſent of either, or both Houſes of Parliament, unaltered either by fraud or force, which (after ſo many thanks and humble acknowledgement of our gracious Favour in our Meſſage of the 20. of January) ſo often and unanimouſly preſented unto us from both Houſes of Parliament) tels us that the Meſſage at firſt was, and (as often as it hath been ſince mentioned by us) hath been a breach of Priviledge of which they have not uſed to be ſo negligent, as in four months not to com-

 plain,

plain, if such a breach had been) and that the way and method of proceeding should not be proposed to them, as if we had only Authority to call them together, none to tell them what they were to do, not so much as with reference to our own affaires: What their own method hath been, and whither it hath led them, and brought the Kingdom, all men see; what ours would have been, if seasonably and timely applied unto, let all men judge. We will speak no more of it.

But see now what excellent Instances they have found out to prove an inclination, if not in us, in some about us, to civill warre: *Their going with us to the House of Commons* (so often urged, and so fully answered) *Their attending on us to* Hampton Court, *and appearing in a warlike manner at* Kingston *upon* Thames, *Our going to* Hull, *Their drawing their swords at* York, *demanding who would be for the King, The declaring Sir* Iohn Hotham *Traitor, before the Message sent to the Parliament; The Propositions to the Gentry in York-shire, to assist us against him, before we had received an Answer from the Parliament*: all desperate Instances of an inclination to a civill warre; examine them again: The manner and intent of our going to the House of Commons, we set forth at large in our Answer to their Declaration of the nineteenth of May; let all men judge. Next, Do these men themselves beleeve (to what purpose soever that Rumour hath served their turns) that there was an apparence in warlike manner at *Kingston* upon *Thames*? do they not know, that whensoever we have been at *Hampton Court*, since our first comming to the Crown, there was never a lesse apparence, or in a lesse warlike manner than at the time they meane: we shall say no more, but that our apparence in a warlike manner at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, and theirs at *Kingston* upon *Hull*, is very different. What is meant by the drawing of swords at *York*, and demanding who would be for the King, must be enquired at *London*, for wee beleeve very few in *York* understand the meaning of it. For our going to *Hull* (which they will by no mean endure shall be called a Visit) whether it were not the way to prevent, rather than to make a civill warre, is very obvious: And the declaring him a Traitor, in the very act of his treason, will never be thought unseasonable, but by those who beleeve him to be a loving and loyall Subject; no more than the endeavouring to make the Gentlemen of this County sensible of that treason (which they are, in an honourable and dutifull degree) before we received our Answer from both Houses of Parliament: for if they had been (as we expected they should have been) sensible of that intolerable injury offred to us, might not we have had occasion to have used the affection of these Gentlemen? were we sure that Sir *John Hotham*, who had kept us out without their Order (we speak of a publike Order) would have let us in when they had bidden him? and if they had not such a sense of us (as the case fals out to be) had we not more reason to make proposition to those Gentlemen, whose readinesse and affection We, or our Posterity, shall never forget?

But this businesse of *Hull* sticks still with them, and finding our questions hard, they are pleased to answer us by asking us other questions: No matter for the exceptions against the Earle of *Newcastle*, (which have been so often urged, as one of their principall grounds of their Feares and Iealousies, and which drew that question from us) they ask us, *Why, since we held it necessary that a Governour should be placed in Hull, Sir* Iohn Hotham *should be refused by us, and*

*the Earle of* Newcastle *sent downe?* We answer, Because we had a better opinion of the Earle of *Newcastle*, than of Sir *John Hotham*, and desired to have such a Governour over our Towns (if we must have any) as should keep them for, and not against Us: And if his going down were in a more private way, than Sir *John Hothams*, it was because we had not that Authority to make a noise, by levying and billetting of souldiers in a peaceable time, upon our good Subjects, as it seemes Sir *John Hotham* carried down with him: And the imputation which is cast by the way upon that Earle, to make his reputation not so unblemished, as we conceived, and the world beleeves it to be, and, *Which though it was not ground enough for a Iudiciall Proceeding*, (it is wonder it was not) *was yet ground enough of suspition*, must be the ease of every Subject in *England* (and we wish it went no higher:) If every vile aspersion contrived by unknowne hands, upon unknown or unimaginable Grounds (which is the way practised to bring any vertuous and deserving Men into obloquy) shall receive the least credit or countenance in the World.

They tell Vs their Exception to those Gentlemen, who delivered their Petition to Vs at *Yorke*, was, *That they presumed to take the Stile upon them of all the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County, whereas* (they say) *so many more of as good Quality as themselves, of that County, were of another opinion; and have since, by their Petition to Vs, disavowed the Act.* Their Information, in that point, is no better than it useth to be, and they will finde, That neither the number, or the quality of those who have, or will disavow that Petition, are as they imagine; though too many weake persons are misled (which they doe, and will every day more understand) by the Faction, Skill, and Industry of that true *Malignant Party*, of which We doe, and have reason to complaine: They say, they *Have received no Petition of so strange a nature*; What nature? *contrary to the Votes of both Houses*: that is, They have received no Petition they had no minde to receive: But We told them, and We tell them againe, and all Our good Subjects will tell them, That they have received Petitions (with joy and approbation) against the Votes of both Houses of their Predecessors, confirmed and established into Laws, by the consent of Vs and our Ancestors, and allowed those Petitions to carry the Stile, and to seeme to carry the Desires of Cities, Townes, and Counties, when of either City, Towne, or County, very few knowne, or considerable persons have been privy to such Petitions: Whereas, in truth the Petitions delivered to Vs (against which they except) carried not the Stile of All, but some of the Gentry and Inhabitants, and implied no other consent, than such as went visibly along with it.

But We are all this while in a mistake, *The Magazine at* Hull *is not taken from Vs:* Who told you so? they who assure you (and whom, without breaking their Priviledges, you must beleeve) that Sir *John Hothams* shutting the Gates against Vs, and resisting Our entrance with armed men (though We thought it in defiance of Us) *was indeed in obedience to Vs and Our Authority, and for Our Service, and the Service of the Kingdome; He was to let none in, but such as came with Our Authority, signified by both Houses of Parliament* (himselfe and they had ordered it so) *and therefore he kept Vs out, onely till We, or he might send for their directions.* We know not whether the contrivers of that Declaration meant that Our good Subjects should so soone understand (though

it was plaine enough to be understood) the meaning of the Kings Authority, signified by both Houses of Parliament: But sure the world will now easily discerne, in what miserable case We had by this time been ('tis bad enough as it is) if We had consented to their Bill, or to their Ordinance of the *Militia*, and given those Men power to have raised all the Arms of the Kingdom against Vs (for the common good) by Our owne Authority: Would they not (as they have kept Vs from *Hull*) by this time have beaten Vs from *York*, and pursued Vs out of the Kingdome, in Our owne behalfe? Nay, may not this Munition (*which is not taken from Vs*) be imployed against Vs? Not against Our Authority, signified by both Houses of Parliament, but onely to kill those ill Councellors, the *Malignant Party*, which is about Vs; and yet for Our good, for the publike good (they will declare it so) and so no Treason within the Statute of 25. of *Ed.* the third, which by their interpretation, hath left Vs (*the King of England*) absolutely lesse provided for, in point of safety, than the meanest Subject of the Kingdome; and every Subject of this Land (for whose security that Law was made, that they may know their duty, and their danger in breaking it) may be made a Traitor, when these men please to say, He is so: But doe they think, that upon such an Interpretation (upon pretence of Authority of Book-Cases, and Presidents, which without doubt, they would have cited, if they had been to their purpose) out of which nothing can result, but confusion to King and People, will finde any credit with Our good Subjects? and that so excellent a Law (made both for security of King and People) shall be so eluded, by an Interpretation, no learned Lawyer in *England* will at this houre (We beleeve) set under his hand, notwithstanding the Authority of that Declaration, which, We hope, shall bring nothing but infamy upon the Contrivers of it.

Now to their Priviledges: Though it be true they say, *That their Priviledges doe not extend to Treason, Felony, or breach of the Peace, so as to exempt the Members from all manner of Proces and Triall, yet it doth priviledge them in the way or Method of their Triall; the cause must be first brought before them, & their consent asked before you can proceed*: Why, then their Priviledges extend as far in these Cases, as in any that are most unquestioned; for no priviledge whatsoever exempts them from all manner of Proces and Triall, if you first acquaint the House with it, and they give you leave to proceed by those proces, or to that triall; But by this Rule, if a Member of either House commit a Murther, you must, by no meanes, meddle with him, till you have acquainted that House (of which he is a Member) & received their direction for your proceeding; assuring your self, he wil not stir from that place where you left him, til you return with their consent: *Should it be otherwise, it would be in the power of every man, under pretence of Murther, to take one after another, and as many as he pleaseth, & so consequently bring a Parliament to what he pleaseth, when he pleaseth:* If a Member of either House shall take a Purse at *York* (he may as probably take a Purse from a Subject, as Armes against his King) you must ride to *London* to know what to doe, and he may ride with you, and take a new Purse every Stage, and must not be apprehended, or declared a Felon, till you have asked that House, of which he is a Member: *Should it be otherwise, it might be in every mans power, to accuse as many Members, as he would, of taking Purses, and so bring a Parlia-*

*ment (and ſo all Parliaments) to nothing.* Would theſe men be believed? And yet they make no doubt, *But every one who hath taken the Proteſtation, will defend this Doctrine with his Life and Fortune.* Will not our Subjects believe, That they have impoſed a pretty Proteſtation upon them, and that they had a very good end in the doing it, if it obligeth them to ſuch hazards, to ſuch undertakings? Muſt they forget or neglect Our Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, which by that Proteſtation they are bound to defend, and in ſome degree doe underſtand; and muſt they only venture their Lives and Fortunes, to juſtifie Priviledges they know not, or ever heard of before? Or are they bound, by that Proteſtation, to believe, That the Framers of that Declaration, have power to extend their own priviledges, as farre as they think fit, and to contract Our Rights as much as they pleaſe, and that they are bound to believe them in either, and to venture their Lives and Fortunes in that quarrell?

From Declaring how meane a Perſon we are, and how much the Kingdome hath been miſtaken in the underſtanding of the *Statute* of 25. *E.* 3. concerning Treaſon; and that all men need not feare leavying Warre againſt Vs, ſo they have their Order to warrant them; they proceed, in the ſpirit of Declaring, to certifie Our Subjects in the miſtakings, which neere one hundred and fifty fifty yeeres have been received, concerning the Statute of the eleventh yeere of *H.* 7. *cap.* 1. (a Statute Our good Subiects will read with comfort) and tell them, That the ſerving of the King, for the the time being, cannot be meant of *Perkin Warbeck*, or of any that ſhould call himſelfe King, but *Such a one as is allowed and received by the Parliament in the behalf of the Kingdom*; And are we not ſo allowed? However through a dark miſt of words, and urging their old Priviledges (which We hope We have ſufficiently anſwered, and will be every day more confuted by the actions of Our good Subjects) they conclude, *That thoſe that ſhall guide themſelves by the Judgement of Parliament* (which they ſay is their own) ought, whatſoever happen, to be ſecure and free from all Account and Penalties, upon the ground and equity of that very Statute. How farre their own Chancellors may help them in that equity, We know not, but (by the help of God, and that good Law) We ſhall allow no ſuch equity.

So then, here is the Doctrine of that Declaration, and theſe are the Poſitions of the Contrivers of it.

1. That they have an abſolute power of declaring the Law, and that whatſoever they declare to be ſo, ought not to be queſtioned by Our Self, or any Subject: So that all Right and ſafety of Vs and Our People muſt depend upon their pleaſure.

2. That no Preſidents can be limits to bound their Proceedings: So they may doe what they pleaſe.

3. That a Parliament may diſpoſe of any thing, wherein the King or Subiect hath a Right, for the Publike good; That they, without the King, are this Parliament, and Judge of this Publike good; and that our Conſent is not neceſſary: So, the Life, and Liberty of the Subiect, and all the good Lawes made for the ſecurity of them, may be diſpoſed of, and repealed by the Major part of both Houſes, at any time preſent, and by any wayes and meanes protured ſo to be; and We have no Power to protect them.

4. That no Member of either Houſe, ought to be troubled or medled with, for

Treaſon.

Treason, Felony, or any other Crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may iudge of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.

5 That the Soveraign Power resides in both Houses of Parliament, and that We have no negative voyce: So then, We Our selfe must be subiect to their Commands.

6 That the leavying of Forces against the personall commands of the King (though accompanied with His Presence) is not leavying Warre against the King; but the leavying war against His Lawes and Authority (which they have power to declare and signifie) though not against his Person, is levying warre against the King, and that Treason cannot be committed against His Person, otherwise then as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that Trust, and that they have a power to iudge whether he discharge this Trust or no.

7 That, *If they should make the highest Presidents of other Parliaments, their Patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of Modesty or Duty in them:* That is, They may depose Vs when they will & are not to be blamed for so doing.

And now (as if the meer publishing of their Resolutions, would not only prevaile with the people but, in the instant, destroy all spirit and courage in Vs, to preserve Our own Right and Honour) they have, since, taken the boldnesse to assault Vs with certaine Propositions, which they call, *The most necessary effectuall meanes for the removing those iealousies and Differences between Vs and Our People:* That is, that We will be content to divest Our Selfe of all Our Regall Rights and Dignities; be content with the Title of a King, and suffer them (according to their Discretion) to govern Vs and the Kingdom, and to dispose of Our Children: How sutteable and agreeable this Doctrine, and these Demands are, to the affection of Our loving Subiects, under whose Trust these men pretend to say and do these most rous things, and to designe, not only the ruine of Our Person, but of Monarchy it selfe (which wee may iustly say, Is more than ever was offered in any of Our Predecessors times; for though the Person of the King hath been sometimes iniustly deposed, yet the Regall power was never, before this time, strucken at) We believe Our good Subiects will finde some way to let them and the World know: And from this time such who have been misled by their ill Counsels, to have any hand in the execution of the *Militia*, will see to what ends their Service is designed; and therefore if they shall presume hereafter to meddle in it, they must expect, that We will immediately proceed against them as Actuall Raisers of Sedition, and as Enemies to Our Soveraign power.

We have done: And shall now expect the worst Actions these Men have Power to commit against Vs: (Worse words they cannot give Vs) And wee doubt not, but the Major part of both Houses of Parliament, when they may come together with their Honour and Safety, (as well those who were surprised, at the passing of it, and understood not the Malice in it, and the Confusion that must grow by it, if believed, as those who were absent or involved) will so farre resent the Indignity offered to Vs, the Dishonour to themselves, and the Mischiefe to the whole Kingdom, by that Declaration, that they will speedily make the foule Contrivers of it, instances of their exemplary Justice, and brand them and their Doctrine with the Marks of their perpetuall Scorne and Indignation.

FINIS.